586 If the husband and wife do not prove to be compatible they are, like all Moslems, permitted to divorce. "In case the husband separates from his wife," Tu Chung-yüan explains, "the household goods are entrusted to the wife; if she separates from her husband, she does not get the household goods. A son is the property of his father; a girl, the property of the mother. After a half year's separation, it is not improper to remarry."

587

Marriage and divorce in Turkestan, in fact, not so long ago came with a frequency that was alarming. Go-betweens of a city could customarily find a bride for almost any newly arrived traveler. One story, which gives a hundred days as the waiting period before new nuptials, credits a certain rather gay young lady with marrying a man in one locality, divorcing him ostensibly as a result of a dispute, and then receiving the requisite official document testifying she was again free. After one hundred days she married again, loved, quarreled, and divorced even more rapidly, and thus obtained another document. Now having two such papers in her possession, she traveled to another town where she began her amours and marriages once more and *ad infinitum*, for by this time she always had authority in her possession entitling her to a man in advance of the stipulated one-hundred-day period.

684 Yet unfaithfulness *per se* in a lady has more frequently brought humiliating punishment. The face of one such untrustworthy wife was given a dusting with soot, and she was then seated backwards upon a donkey. The butt for all types of abuse and invective, she was led thus from bazaar to bazaar and her wickedness exposed openly to the populace.

291 The Wei-wu-erh tribesman is a picturesque figure in his long, bright-colored cloth coat. This garment has long sleeves which he pulls down over his hands in place of gloves in winter, and it is tied about the waist with a kerchief. His cap is usually of common cloth but sometimes of velvet with fur around the edges. Beneath his coat he wears pantaloons usually reaching down to within about six inches of his feet, which are often encased in leather boots with detachable slippers. The ladies are often dressed similarly, but in beautiful vari-colored and gaily designed wraps or in cloth coats of white or some light color. These, as in the case of the men, hide trousers. The face veil sometimes has fine lace work and a delicately embroidered fringe. Not all the

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

585 [587] of about twenty-five who was marrying for the second time; her late husband had been the first cousin of the present bridegroom, who was marrying her as next-of-kin according to a common practice among the Kirghiz.[1]

We had no little difficulty in tearing ourselves away from the hospitable Kirghiz, who evidently considered we had brought luck to the happy pair. The revelry was still in its early stages, and every moment more and more guests arrived, some riding two on a pony or camel, others striding through the sleet on foot. We did our best in the way of wedding presents, but all the coloured scarves, woollen gloves, bead necklaces, hunting-knives and other treasures we had brought had already been distributed among the Kirghiz of the Qizil Tagh and other places along the road. However, we left the bridegroom very happy with a small cash present and the bride radiant with a magnificent pair of diamond and pink pearl ear-rings which D. had bought for the equivalent of about a shilling at a Hindu shop in Yarkand.

487 Eventually, after I had photographed the family party in the *aq-oi*, as well as the entire assembly outside, we escaped and made our way after the caravan as fast as the rough track would let us. Two miles lower down we came to the junction of the Chimghan and Qaratash rivers and looked longingly up the fine wide valley of the former stream. Its flat bottom was fully a mile broad with meadows, cultivation and willow woods; as the sky cleared and the mists ro[illegible] we caught glimpses of magnificent snowy ranges rising ten thousand feet above it on either side. No European but our one predecessor, Stein, had so much as looked up it, and even he had not explored it. I would have given much to spend two or three days camping up the Chimghan Jilgha, which I knew would lead me into the inmost fastnesses of Qungur and the mysterious Shiwakte; but I dared not. In mid-April the summer floods might come down any day, and it was inadvisable to r[illegible] the risk of being trapped by them in the middle of the [illegible]eaded Qaratash gorges. As it was, the combined waters of the Chimghan and Qaratash streams, which we had to cross thirty-one times before we at last emerged upon the plains at Altunluk, were only just fordable by our baggage-ponies; our bedding and boxes of clothes we loaded on two or three camels which the Kirghiz produced, steady sure-footed

[1] For an account of the marriage customs of the Kirghiz in the Alps of Qungur, see Chapter XI.

S
N over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect
592 is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of
593 their parents when the latter reach old age.

S Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly
N religious person will not exceed four wives.
595
779 Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the
S loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a
N man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected
779 in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were
829 carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

S
121 ### A. Family Organization

592 In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

S Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of
592 a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some
563 cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has
S more than one wife. Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic
595 law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peas-
563 ants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as
S such in Sinkiang. The individualism of the women, the freedom
[562] allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make
[52] it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

S Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or pov-
563 erty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many
[162] children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry
[587] a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 early age, and during their stay at home they are occupied in
593 different phases of ~~the~~ household.

563 The families of the lower classes often comprise economic units,
592 particularly among the farmers, artisans, and small merchants.
565 The family as a whole is engaged in the economic tasks of gaining
184 a livelihood. The father trains his sons to assist him in his profession, and eventually to take over and inherit their father's place. The father thus need not hire any assistants, but gets the necessary aid from his own family. Usually one son stays with his father, while the others, when they are old enough to establish their own households, go and seek their fortunes elsewhere. But while belonging to the nuclear family, all the sons participate in the economic activities.

The well-to-do families do not, as a rule, comprise such units of production. Some of the sons may be studying and training for future positions as officials, while others may actively participate in their father's business.

563 Most families in the lower brackets, i.e., the majority, can-
592 not afford to send their sons to schools; they cannot afford the fees,
565 nor spare the time in which their sons might be participating in
184 the economic activities. Thus the family takes upon itself the
86 additional tasks of educating the children and teaching them the
[891] religious customs and rituals, and social manners. The child learns how to perform the most basic rituals of the Moslem religion, to recite a few prayers in Arabic, and to behave according to the local social customs and standards.

563 Larger kin groupings are hardly existent among the Turkic
602 sedentary population of the Northwest. Since the family unit's ties are so loose, it is impossible to maintain relationships with relatives who do not belong to the immediate family. No ties of everyday life keep them together, and no economic obligations are required from relatives, other than the most immediate ones. In the well-to-do families, there might be some additional ties involving property and inheritance, but otherwise there is little closeness in the relationships of the members of the clan.

563 The immediate family is the only social unit to which the indi-
593 viduals feel loyal and attached. However, under the circumstances,
684 these attachments are not too strong. This may constitute one of
[593] the main reasons that adultery and lack of loyalty to a spouse are not as severely regarded as they are by the orthodox Moslems.
[586] With the loose laws of marriage and divorce in Sinkiang, many in-
[587] cidents of possible adultery are prevented because the husband and wife are able to attain a legal separation and remarry. Where cases of adultery do occur, the women are the main subjects for punishment. The husband of an adulteress is entitled to punish his wife and to cease to treat her kindly. There is not much that a woman can do to a man if he has switched his loyalty.

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 585 musicians' presence is as important as that of the religious representatives, since music continuously accompanies the festivities. Money is given to beggars, the fees of the mullas are paid, and food is placed in front of the musicians. The marriage ceremony is not very complicated. The mulla says a few prayers over the bride and groom and pronounced them man and wife. After the ceremony the bride is led to the house of her husband. The bride's [152] leaving her family is accompanied by the wailing of her mother, who is supposed to exhibit great sorrow at her daughter's departure. The daughter is supposed to respond likewise. When reaching the house of her husband, she is to resist entering the house, and it is up to her husband and his relatives to lift her over the threshhold into the house. The wedding festivities can go on for days, after which the young couple also is obliged to give a party for those who were invited to celebrate their wedding.

563 585 885 Once a woman is married, she belongs to her husband's family, even if he dies. Her full social stature is only reached after she is thirty. Her husband then gives a party to celebrate her becoming a jawan (a mature woman). She is now entitled to privileges and social position which were barred to her as a very young woman; she is also worth more on the marriage market.

563 586 In many cases, these very early marriages are failures and soon are dissolved. The husband has no difficulty in getting a divorce from his wife. He can conclude a divorce suit against his wife, in front of the qazi (a Moslem judge), without her being present. The fees for divorce are very little. The wife, although not as free to petition for a divorce as her husband, can request a divorce in six cases: if her husband beat her, having no serious reason for doing so, and her body still retains the signs as evidence; if, without consulting her, he took another wife; if he had stopped supporting her for six months; if, without her consent, he has taken her away from her regular place of residence for more than three days; or if he becomes insane or a leper.

The wife can, in this case, assemble her personal belongings and go back to her parents. The husband then proceeds to give her full freedom by repudiating her. The demands that the woman [589] puts on him are very few--he is to support her for a hundred days, after which she is free to remarry. The husband has no such restrictions about remarriage; he can remarry on the same day on which he secured a divorce.

Alimony is the main issue in divorce cases. When the wife initiates divorce proceedings the husband may refuse to pay alimony, and the wife may even have to give him a substantial sum of money to induce him to let her go. His final consent always is necessary for a divorce to become valid, otherwise, the separation would not be considered a legal divorce. The matter of the children is settled by both parents, but the father really decides

/The New Uighurs/

000 can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily. A
563 farmer seldom has more than one wife, but a city man usually
[595] has at least two, living in different parts of town. The marriage
[369] age for girls is twelve to fourteen; for boys, fifteen to sixteen.
[582] Matches are arranged by parents, and often the children have
[584] known and played with each other for years. Ceremonies are
563 performed at the girl's first marriage. Her parents invite all
585 their neighbors to a feast, at which the leaders of the mosque
are also present. Together the bride and bridegroom eat some
[152] bread dipped in salt water. Customarily the bride and her
mother weep and wail aloud during the ceremony. The mullahs
are paid a fee for performing the rites, and food and money are
given to beggars. All expenses are paid by the bride's family.
The only liability incurred by the bridegroom is the hagg-i-mihr,
a settlement for his wife. Theoretically the wife can claim this
settlement at any time before her death, but it is never claimed
except at divorce, and occasionally this old tradition is omitted.

A procession of musicians accompanies the bride, who rides a pony or donkey or walks in front of the others from the home of her parents to the home of her husband. When she arrives at her new home, she is lifted over the threshold by her husband and his relatives.

[556] Several days after the wedding, the bride's family, if wealthy, gives one party for the men of the two families, and one for the women.

b. Coming of age

563 Women do not reach their full social status until they are
562 thirty or older, when they attain the dignity of jawanlik. A
885 woman who has reached this age of discretion is called a jawan,
[302] and is privileged to braid her hair in two long plaits.

This coming of age is celebrated by a feast known as jawanlik toi, given by the husband. For the first time the woman appears with her braids, and wearing a special shirt known as the jawan-chi konglak. After this celebration she is more important in the home and commands more respect from others. She is also
[581] worth more on the marriage market, as the younger bride has a tendency to run back to her parents. A New Uighur man would rather obligate himself heavily to marry a good-looking jawan than to take a young girl. The word jawan can always be found
[533] in their love songs, as in the following example:
[539] "Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Not the girl who has never been a jawan." (Skrine 1926:203)

c. Remarriage

563 Remarriage is not condemned in New Uighur society. The
587 average man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going and rather

563 slow-witted fellow. A woman who is quick-witted, energetic and
589 above average in looks can exchange a useless or uncongenial mate for a better one with no difficulty. A New Uighur beauty can count her past fancies by her successive husbands, just as a horse-racing enthusiast in America dates his past life by Derby winners.

d. Ceremony of birth

563 843 844 The expected arrival of a child is kept a secret from all but the husband, as it is believed that publicity may make the birth difficult or even dangerous. The husband secretly summons the midwife, who utters some words during the delivery to drive away evil spirits and protect the life of the newborn.

563 846 On the second or third day after the birth of the child, the parents are visited by close friends and relatives. All bring gifts to the baby. Men traditionally hope for male offspring, women for daughters. A newborn boy generally receives a cow, horse or sheep from his grandfather.

563 852 [553] [854] [302] When the father summons a Mullah to name the baby, it is the occasion for showing the child to close friends and relatives. When the baby is twenty days old, he gets his first bath. He is washed again after forty days, when his head is shaved for the first time. For the shaving, a few boys from five to ten years of age are invited, and one boy of gentle character whose parents are both living is selected to perform the gesture of shaving. The actual shaving is done by a man.

e. Funeral and burial

563 764 New Uighur ceremonies regarding death are more elaborate than the Kirghiz ritual, though both peoples are of the same religious faith. When death occurs, relatives and close friends of the family are informed and invited to take part in the prayers and share the grief.

563 764 793 The corpse is left in the room where death occurred, and no one is allowed to touch it. When the day of the funeral is set, three mullahs are summoned to perform the ablution rituals. They undress the body and place it on folded doors. One pours water on the body, the second washes it and the third turns the body. If the deceased is a woman, the ablution rites are performed by an old religious woman. During the rites, no one but the mullahs may be present in the room.

When the body is cleansed, the mullahs dress it in three white cotton shirts. The inside shirt is short and has an opening in the front. The second is of the same style, but reaches to the knees. The shroud, which has an opening for the face, is placed over the shirts and tied at each end, leaving only the face uncovered.

Then the mullahs carry the body on a felt into another room and place it on a bed, and family members, relatives and friends